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absolutely indispensable to have intelligence agencies—and it has to do—it has to spy—it has to counterspy, which is just almost as important as spying. It has to do a lot of operations which wouldn't look very well in print, but which every country does, such as occasionally slipping something to a politician in a very backward country, or helping an editor who'll change his mind in a backward country. And it's all very immoral, but there's no use pretending that it isn't going to be done. The trouble with CIA has been, I think—I should have said one thing is very doubtful—whether it should ever mount expeditions like the Cuban expedition, that's so big you can't keep it secret, and therefore, it's bound to fail. But really secret things are an inevitable part of government. What they did in the CIA was to take all these things and put them in one thing—everything focused on the head of one man, who never knew whether he was trying to tell the President what was the truth about something or other, or what ought to be done, and there ought to be no connection between the two.

Mr. SMITH. Well, just after the Cuban debacle, you said that the Joint Chiefs and the head of the CIA had to go. Do you still feel that way?

Mr. LIPPMAN. I do. I think it's going to be done too—I hope with as little bloodshed as possible, but I think the CIA, itself, may disappear and be dissolved into its parts taken over in different directions.

Mr. SMITH. Well, in all these setbacks in which the CIA has been involved, the President, in a speech, has implied, and many of his aides have said, quite frankly to us reporters, in private, that they consider the press to be a limitation on our effectiveness in carrying out policy—a free press unrestrained. What do you think about that? Do you agree with that?

Mr. LIPPMAN. They're very confused about all that. I think, in some ways, the press—there are some things the press might do better or differently or not at all than it does. But what they were complaining about was something that they have—there's no criticism being made of it, namely that the Cuban expedition was—that the news of that was published to the world before it happened. I consider it the duty of the press to expose that kind of thing to the light of day, because I don't think a democracy like this should have secret training camps and secret armies and secret navies in foreign countries—all in violation of its treaties and its own laws.

Mr. SMITH. You once said that one of the proudest achievements of your career was that you once exposed an incident like that. Could you tell me what that was?

Mr. LIPPMAN. Well, that was many years ago when there was a grave threat of the invasion of Mexico, yes, in the twenties.

Mr. SMITH. And what did you do?

Mr. LIPPMAN. Well, I was editor of the New York World, and we shrieked and howled about it much more than anybody has done about Cuba, and I think we had some effect. I think we had the effect of stopping it.

Mr. SMITH. Well, to me, the chief paradox of the time we live in is, that most of the resources and the skills and the wealth of the world are with the Western nations; yet, the Communist nations appear to be winning the competition we call the cold war. How do you explain that?

Mr. LIPPMAN. I think that's an exaggeration, really, and somewhat of an optical illusion. They are winning it in the most backward and reactionary places, but I don't consider that they're winning it in—they are not winning it in Europe. In spite of Castro, I don't believe they're going to win it in Brazil, which is going to be determined more than anything else what happens in South America. They haven't won it in Mex-

ico. I think that one—they haven't won it in Japan. The fact that the Japanese are not—don't love Americans doesn't mean that they're Communists.

Mr. SMITH. Well, the one question on which Khrushchev and the President seemed less pessimistic than on other questions was on Laos. Yet, recent events don't seem to have borne out that relative optimism. What do you think about that?

Mr. LIPPMAN. I think the answer is that Laos is not a primary vital interest to the Soviet Union. Khrushchev regards it as quite secondary, and it's not a primary interest to the United States either. It's a country which is remote, very difficult to get at, very unsuited to American military type of American power—military power. There are no roads in it, no ports, no airfields, and I think that it's a wise thing for a country to measure its—to tailor its policy to its military powers.

Mr. SMITH. Well, do you believe in what's called the Domino theory, and that is that if we lose Laos, then we'll lose Thailand, and so on, until we've lost all southeast Asia because of this one country?

Mr. LIPPMAN. I remember the Domino theory first was brought up in the Middle East, and I remember when people said Nasser made a deal with the Soviets about arms, and they said, "Ah, Egypt's gone"—then Syria was gone, and then Iraq. None of them is gone, and I don't consider Laos gone. Laos is not going to be what we rather foolishly, I think, 2 or 3 years ago, tried to make it—an American satellite, whatever you like to call it. I mean, putting in a government that suited us—and that is not possible.

Mr. SMITH. Well, Mr. Lippman, in the course of our long conversation in which we've ranged over many subjects, you have been opposed to taking action, military, forceful action in Laos, or unilateral action in Cuba. You have said you're in favor of negotiations over Berlin, which may involve making concessions to the Russians over Berlin. What would be your answer to those who would say that this is a policy of appeasement?

Mr. LIPPMAN. My answer to that would be that you can't decide these questions of life and death for the world by epithets like appeasement. Furthermore, I think the reasons for doing what I advocate, are based on the soundest, strategical principle, and that is this: The Soviet Union is not engaged in any of these places. It hasn't sent its troops anywhere. As long as it isn't engaged, we mustn't be engaged. We must always keep the central power, which is the ultimate deterrent to the future—to war by the Soviet Union intact, as long as they're intact, but if we get ourselves involved in a Korean war in Indochina, and all our reserves begin flowing that way, or get ourselves involved in a thing we can't finish in Cuba, because the guerrilla war may go on forever, then we will weaken ourselves for what is really the issue, which is to keep the balance of power between ourselves and the Soviet Union intact, and that's the principle on which—that's the principle I have in the back of my mind in taking a position about not intervening in Laos, for example. I don't agree with the people who think that we have to go out and shed a little blood to prove we're virile men. This is too serious a business for that kind of thinking, and in regard to Cuba, my feeling was not only that, but also that we had no—it was illegal for us to do it, and we cannot go into the business of violating treaties. We're not that kind of country. And then behind that all, lies a very personal and human feeling—that I don't think old men ought to promote wars for young men to fight. I don't like warlike old men. I think it's their business to try as best they can, by whatever wisdom they can find, to avert what would be an absolutely irreparable calamity for the world.

## THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE RANDOLPH-SHEPPARD ACT

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, this day marks the 25th anniversary of the enactment of Public Law 732, known as the Randolph-Sheppard Act, passed by the 74th Congress. There have been many similar anniversaries of legislation passed by the Congress of the United States, but this particular one is of significant importance and merits our attention today. At the same time we pay tribute to a distinguished colleague under whose guidance, 25 years ago, this particular legislation was enacted. I refer to the distinguished senior Senator from West Virginia [Mr. RANDOLPH], who was at that time a Member of the House of Representatives. The late Senator Morris Sheppard, who cosponsored the legislation in the Senate, realized with great satisfaction that he had participated in one of the most humanitarian pieces of legislation ever enacted by Congress.

The purpose of the Randolph-Sheppard Act is to provide blind persons with remunerative employment, to enlarge their economic opportunities, and thereby to stimulate them to greater efforts in order that they might become self-supporting. In accomplishing this objective, the law grants the privilege to blind persons to operate vending stands on Federal properties. Surveys of non-Federal buildings are made to find similar opportunities for blind persons. The Federal department which administers the act has authority to make surveys of industrial plants, with the cooperation of State vocational rehabilitation officers, in an attempt to find industrial processes which blind persons can perform on a par with sighted persons.

During these past 25 years many thousands of blind persons have been made self-sufficient under the provisions of the Randolph-Sheppard Act. Their outstanding performance in industrial occupations has been an inspiration to their fellow employees and an object lesson to their employers. When this country was plunged into World War II, the results of industrial surveys made possible by this legislation were made known to the Federal and State agencies in charge of manpower, and capable blind persons took their places alongside of their sighted coworkers in industrial plants from coast to coast. Studies made of the work record of these blind employees reveal that their production rate was as high as that of their sighted fellow workers. Their industrial accident experience was much lower than that of sighted workers. This was largely due to the fact that their industrial placement was carefully selected by trained placement officers plus the fact that blind workers are not easily distracted as is the case of sighted workers. Blind workers today are contributing to the national defense effort by their outstanding work in many of our large industrial plants.

The vending stand provision of the Randolph-Sheppard Act has also been a tremendous success for our blind citizens. The records of the Office of Voca-

tional Rehabilitation of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, which administers the Randolph-Sheppard Act, reveal the success of this encouraging vending stand program. During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1960, there were 2,078 vending stands in Federal and non-Federal buildings operated by 2,216 blind persons whose annual gross sales amounted to \$38,219,340 with net profits to the operators of \$7,541,304. These figures grow with each passing year and this fact alone is proof of the practicability of the vending stand program for blind persons.

With respect to the importance of this legislation to blind persons, I quote from a statement made by Mr. Hulen C. Walker, executive director of the American Association of Workers for the Blind, who said:

Two of the most important milestones affecting the lives of blind persons have been the invention of braille by Louis Braille of France in 1829 and the passage of the Randolph-Sheppard Act by the Congress of the United States in 1936. The braille system was truly the beacon of light which enabled the blind to be removed from an existence of total darkness into an enlightened world of literature and learning. The Randolph-Sheppard Act has brought about universal recognition of the capabilities of blind persons to earn a living for themselves and for their dependents and thereby are enabled to live normal and useful lives in their respective communities.

The Members of Congress today are proud to take cognizance of the importance of the Randolph-Sheppard Act and we congratulate the Federal and State government departments and their staffs for having done an excellent job in the administration of this legislation which has meant so much to many thousands of our blind citizens who are the beneficiaries of this program.

#### WHAT GOES UP

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, the new administration has officially requested a \$5 billion increase in the ceiling on our national debt.

President Kennedy's projected budget for the coming fiscal year is already out of balance by more than \$5 billion. At present, the national debt ceiling is somewhere around \$293 billion, while our total debt is about \$290 billion. This \$5 billion deficit plus the \$3 billion leeway presently available does not, I hope, indicate that we face a budgetary deficit approaching the combined total of the two—\$8 billion.

The inflationary consequences of a \$5 to \$8 billion deficit are serious indeed. If in good times—and our economy is presently on the upgrade—we cannot maintain a balanced Federal budget, then we are in for real trouble.

Mr. President, permit me to make a scientific observation. Our Federal debt clearly illustrates the fallacy of Newton's law that what goes up must come down. Perhaps we should have a Federal fiscal corollary to Newton's law; what goes up will more likely than not keep going up.

#### THE COMMUNIST PATTERN IN CUBA: A REIGN BY TERROR AND TONGUE

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, this morning the fourth and last article in a series on Castro's Communist rule appeared in the New York Times. The articles, by R. Hart Phillips, the first of which I inserted in the RECORD on Monday, demonstrate that the typical pattern of communism, which we have seen in Russia and Red China, is being ruthlessly practiced by the Cuban dictator. Castro is choking out the heartbeat of democracy among the peoples of Cuba, for whom the United States has long had a warm regard.

Day and night, Castro floods the Cuban people, whom he has cut off from every other source of information, with his lies and Communist propaganda. In this attempted indoctrination, he has followed the traditional Communist pattern of a supposed threat of constant aggression from the outside, which he creates by inciting and inflaming mobs into a white-heat of hatred against the United States. Exploiting this supposed threat, he has terrorized and repressed any protesting voices of Cuban patriots.

Castro shows his inhumanity and demagogic love of power by following the Communist pattern of developing the State's power through arms and heavy machinery. He completely ignores the Cuban people's desire and need for consumer goods. Under Castro's dictatorial rule, the Cuban people must depend upon him for jobs, housing, food, clothing, education, pensions, information, entertainment and recreation. Castro, of course, promised sugar pie, but he is giving them vinegar. His great national promises are sweet, but his gross national product is turning sour.

The third pattern of communism which Castro is following down the line is that of establishing his iron-ruled Cuba as a central base for Communist propaganda, infiltration, subversion and interference in peace-loving Latin American States. His diplomatic corps, his propaganda machines, and any other instruments Castro can find, are promoting Castro-type revolutions throughout South America. What Russia had done to Eastern Europe, what Red China is trying to do in Laos and other Asian nations, Castro is attempting from his home base of Cuba.

The New York Times articles supplement the very valuable testimony of former Ambassador Robert C. Hill, which the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee heard Monday. Ambassador Hill, a man with long experience in Latin American affairs, testified that Castro's dictatorial regime has been Communist from the start, using a corps of technicians from Peiping and Moscow, even in 1959. As Mrs. Phillips states in her second article, Castro's present propaganda agency, Prensa Latina, is allied with Tass, the Soviet instrument of distortion, and Hsinhua, the Chinese Communist agency of propaganda.

Ambassador Hill urged the adoption of a complete air and sea embargo to be imposed on Cuba by the Organization of American States, a move which I proposed several months ago in this body. As the former Ambassador to Mexico, Costa Rica, and El Salvador stated, the shipments of Red arms to Cuba are in violation of numerous treaties. Mrs. Phillips' third article reveals that Che Guevara told the people in a speech that, actually, Cuba had no reserves. Today's article states that, "A total embargo would certainly create greater dissatisfaction in Cuba," and as Ambassador Hill stated Monday, cutting off the resources of U.S. dollars to Castro would be very effective.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed following my remarks the last three New York Times articles, which are excellent analyses of Castro's totalitarian regime.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, June 13, 1961]  
CASTRO CONTROLS CUBANS BY HIS ORATORY AND ARMS

(Second of four articles)

(By R. Hart Phillips)

Premier Fidel Castro rules Cuba today by the magic of his voice and the power of the rifle. "If Fidel should lose his voice he would be overthrown in 2 months," one Cuban remarked bitterly after having listened to the Premier whip an audience of thousands to a fever pitch of loyalty to him and hatred of the United States.

Until a few weeks ago, Premier Castro spoke every 10 days or 2 weeks over a nationwide radio and television network. Now, as opposition rises against him, he speaks as often as three times a week.

The Premier once conceded that if he did not speak frequently the people became "confused" and lost some of their enthusiasm for the aims and sacrifices of his revolution.

Indoctrination is the daily diet of the Cubans. It follows closely the line set by the Premier. Day after day excerpts from his speeches are broadcast over the Government radio stations to inspire more patriotic fervor and more hatred against the United States.

#### WORKER IS SPURRED

The average Cuban worker awakens in the morning to hear the Government station of his choice urging him to produce more and to defend the revolution from a certain future attack by the United States. He is encouraged by being told of the arrival of shipments of merchandise from the Soviet Union, Communist China or other Communist countries and of their great and disinterested friendship for Cuba.

Interspersed with this news are pledges of support from groups of workers, students and peasants in other Latin-American countries and from similar groups in the Communist countries.

The worker also hears some current report about the "criminal discrimination" against Negroes in the United States, the unemployment situation in this country and Washington's latest "aggression" against Cuba.

The worker must listen for announcements of labor meetings or calls by his militia unit to be present at indoctrination assemblies or for special duty. These are broadcast daily.

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Later the worker buys a copy of *Revolucion*, the official organ of Premier Castro's 26th of July movement, or of *El Mundo*, also a Government-owned newspaper, or *Hoy*, the official Communist Party newspaper. In these, he finds the same news he has heard over the radio, except in greater detail.

His knowledge of events abroad is limited to the slanted dispatches of *Prensa Latina*, the propaganda press agency established by Premier Castro many months ago. *Prensa Latina*, which is allied with Tass, the Soviet press agency, and Hsinhua, the Chinese Communist agency, now operates throughout the world.

During the working day, which is believed to have been increased from 8 hours to about 10 since most workers have volunteered to work extra hours for the revolution, the worker maintains the proper attitude of enthusiasm for the present and future activities of the Government. He usually wears his militia uniform to work and after the working day ends he goes on guard duty at his own plant or at some other nationalized enterprise. If he does not go on guard duty, he may be assigned to supplement the police on patrol.

If there is a big labor rally, he marches from the plant to the appointed place and cheers frenzied orators for several hours before he goes home to sleep the few remaining hours of the night.

Meanwhile, his wife, if she is not a member of the militia with an assignment, is attending a meeting of the national woman's organization or perhaps a meeting of the neighborhood Committee for Defense of the Revolution, which spies on its neighbors and does volunteer indoctrination work.

Or she may be teaching a group of illiterates as part of the year of education program for which so many women have volunteered.

## SOMETHING FOR THE CHILDREN

The worker's children, dressed in the uniform of the Rebel Youth or some other revolutionary organization, usually are somewhere participating in the activities of such organizations.

Any television program the family may see is filled with indoctrination and praise of the Cuban revolution, whether it is an interview with some foreign visitor, a panel discussion, a speech by some official, a soap opera or a film. When this correspondent left Havana the public was being urged daily by television to read a book on Marxist doctrine just published by the National Printing Shop.

The indoctrination program of the Castro government has four aims:

First, to convince the Cuban people that the United States is the greatest enemy of Cuba and of all the "humble" of the world.

Second, to persuade them that the Communist system is the only hope for world peace and prosperity.

Third, to make them believe they are much better off and happier than previously.

Fourth, to destroy the influence of the Roman Catholic Church.

Every possible medium is utilized in this program and there is no disagreement among Cubans that it is being carried out with expertness and efficiency. With the Government operating the radio and television stations, printing the newspapers and thousands of books at cheap prices, directing all cultural and sports activities, cutting off the people from their former contact with the capitalist countries, which are constantly attacked, the campaign is having an effect.

## INSTITUTE OF FRIENDSHIP

An important organ in Premier Castro's campaign for worldwide support of his revolution is the Institute of Friendship, which was established several months ago.

The institute acts as the liaison between foreign visitors and the Government. It also is taking charge of invitations to foreign officials and delegations of students, workers, professional persons and others.

Moreover, the institute works closely with foreign correspondents. Visiting correspondents from the Communist countries are invited on tours, lavishly entertained, featured on television and radio programs and interviewed by the local press.

Newsmen from neutral countries, and Britain, France, and other Western countries are welcomed and cooperation is extended. However, a West German correspondent said recently that once the institute had established that she was not from East Germany she had been treated coldly and had not been invited anywhere.

Most visiting correspondents are shown cooperatives, state farms, housing projects, new hospitals and schools—in general, the best examples the Government has to offer.

For many months the favorite cooperative to be shown to visitors has been what is known as the Sainz Bros. tobacco plantation in Pinar del Rio Province.

Several hundred workers on the plantation, which was owned by an official of the Batista regime, once lived in small, insanitary huts. Now they live in houses built into a small town around a school and a Government store. The homes are painted in pastel shades and have modern plumbing and electricity.

The workers are happy and the cooperative, which is in Cuba's finest tobacco district, is thriving.

During visits under Government supervision to areas such as this, the visiting correspondent is unlikely to meet anyone who is critical of the regime. Moreover, Dr. Castro's declaration that anyone who speaks critically of his government is a counter-revolutionary has effectively silenced the usually talkative Cubans.

The fact that a foreign correspondent finds no overt opposition to the government often leads him to believe Dr. Castro's contention that the regime is supported by all the Cuban people.

## DIRECTED AT YOUTH

The Premier has directed his greatest indoctrination effort toward the youth. Education has become synonymous with indoctrination.

This year has been named by the Premier, an avid phrasemaker, as the "Year of Education," during which illiteracy is to be wiped out. This commendable project has opened a new channel to the minds of the Cuban youth and the masses.

The idea of a youthful "Army of Education," which was put forward several months ago by the Premier, caught the imagination of the children and teen-agers, already fired by the desire to emulate the tall, bearded revolutionary hero, who has turned the island into an armed camp. The Premier set the number of this army at 100,000.

Children from the sixth grade through high school who were called by the Premier jubilantly joined the "Army of Education" despite the protests of the majority of their parents. Schools were closed in April and will not be opened until next January.

The selected boys and girls are being organized into uniformed brigades and given special courses of indoctrination that they are to pass on to the peasants whom they teach to read and write. The primer to be used in teaching the peasants and the teachers' manual are masterpieces of indoctrination. It is almost certain that the peasant will be imbued with the prescribed Socialist ideas and hatred of the United States as he learns his letters.

## INDOCTRINATE OR LIQUIDATE

The Premier takes the position that those Cubans who cannot be indoctrinated into

becoming his enthusiastic followers must be dealt with severely. He has repeatedly declared that every person who does not support his revolution is a counterrevolutionary.

This motivated his recent order that foreign-born Catholic priests be expelled. These priests, the Premier contended, were "poisoning the minds of the Cuban youth against the revolution." Yet the Premier has carefully refrained from attacking the Catholic Church itself. It is the "Fascist priests in the pay of the Imperialistic United States" who are the target.

Last year faithful Castro followers established a religious organization known as "With the Cross and With the Fatherland." Although not recognized by the Catholic Church, this organization frequently holds masses. The few priests who participate in these religious rites are staunch supporters of the revolution.

Last Mothers' Day, just after the foreign priests were ordered to leave the island, the government brought 10,000 peasant mothers to Havana to participate in a special observance of that day. A mass was held in the big Plaza Civica at which the Reverend Guillermo Sardinas, a major in the Cuban Army, officiated. Father Sardinas spent a year and a half with Dr. Castro's rebel troops during the 2-year revolution that overthrew the regime of Fulgencio Batista. He is the only priest who wears an olive green robe, the same color as the army uniform. He also wears the insignia of his rank on the shoulder of the robe.

## RITES ARE BROADCAST

Although there were only a few churches in which mass was celebrated that Sunday, the Plaza Civica rites were broadcast over a nationwide television and radio network to demonstrate that the anger of the Castro regime was directed against the priests and not against the Catholic religion. A revolutionary aspect was given to the mass by the singing of the national anthem and the "26th of July Movement's March."

Harsh repressive measures are used by the Premier against his enemies. They are kept under surveillance by the Committees for Defense of the Revolution, which are composed of voluntary spies for the Government. According to the Government radio, there are thousands of these committees. But when this correspondent left Cuba the radios were calling for 500,000 more volunteers to establish additional committees.

The thousands of army intelligence men, policemen and militia continually make arrests. Whenever a person disappears his relatives first look for him in one of the prisons. This is highly difficult because most of the time information as to the whereabouts of the prisoner is refused. There is no habeas corpus procedure.

The prisoners are held for days without questioning and without knowing the crime with which they are charged. Many times they are released without explanation only to be arrested again later.

The sanitary conditions of the prisons are deplorable and the food served is highly deficient. Medical attention is almost nonexistent. Protests presented months ago by the relatives of prisoners through the International Red Cross and the United Nations Committee on Human Rights have apparently been ignored. The Castro regime is said to have rejected a Red Cross request for permission to inspect the prisons.

Military courts continue to function and death sentences are imposed for crimes of terrorism and sabotage. Once an individual is brought before one of these courts his chances of acquittal are slight.

Most wealthy Cubans have long since fled from the island as have thousands of middle-class property owners. Those who remain are reduced in many cases to dire poverty.

Most middle-class Cubans have only one thought—to escape from the island. However, this is impossible in most cases.

Many of them have become hopeless and bitter. "Give Castro 2 more years in power," one Cuban said, "and Cuba will be Communist forever."

[From the New York Times, June 15, 1961]  
CUBANS GRUMBLE OVER SHORTAGES—REDS  
SEND HEAVY GOODS, BUT FEW CONSUMER  
ITEMS

(By R. Hart Phillips)  
(Third of four articles)

The owner of a tiny roadside stand selling coffee at 3 cents a cup and a few groceries in Camaguey Province recently leaned against the counter and spoke sadly to his lone customer.

"Yankee imperialism may be a bad thing but when we had Yankee imperialism I had plenty of things to sell," he said, gesturing toward his empty shelves. "Now I have nothing to sell and I can't make a living."

This is the greatest problem of Premier Fidel Castro's Socialist state today. Consumer goods are becoming scarcer as the months go by.

Big freighters steam into Cuban harbors bringing steel plates, prefabricated factories, tractors and trucks, and tankers unload millions of gallons of petroleum—all from the Soviet Union and other Communist countries. But food, clothing, household appliances and all the other everyday items to which the Cubans have become accustomed over the years do not arrive.

#### RICE FROM RED CHINA

When this correspondent left Havana recently, the groceries had bags of rice from Communist China, canned lobster and beef from the Soviet Union, at high prices, and strawberry jam from Poland. But there was no cheese or butter, no breakfast food, no peanut cooking oil, no fish, fresh lobsters or pork.

For the first time since the Castro regime came to power, housewives were forced to stand in line to buy beef.

The items becoming more and more scarce included milk, eggs, chickens, beans, flour, salt, drugs, cosmetics, toilet paper, razor blades, writing paper and pencils, erasers, textiles, pots and pans and cutlery. Suddenly, several weeks ago, there was no beer. The people were stunned. "But there has to be, we've always had beer," one workman protested.

The most frequent phrase heard in all commercial establishments in Cuba is the terse "no hay," meaning "there is none." A former President of Cuba discussing the Cuban situation with a reporter recently was asked if he thought Premier Castro would be overthrown. "He might be—by no hay," the old man said whimsically.

The Cuban Government is the sole importer and exporter. All the former privately owned industries and commercial enterprises are owned and operated by the Government. It is the producer of agricultural products, the operator of all transportation and communications, the owner of all city property and most of the land on the island. In other words, most of the Cuban people must depend on the Government for food, clothing, employment, education, entertainment and information, pensions and recreation.

#### PRICES ARE FIXED

There are still many small merchants, particularly in the towns, but these merchants must buy from the Government at fixed prices, sell at fixed profits, pay their employees as directed by the Government and open and close their establishments as ordered. Most of these merchants are Spaniards and they are a sad, frustrated group.

How long this last stronghold of private enterprise will remain is problematical.

Premier Castro has already promised the people he will eliminate the "intermediaries," who, he said, are to be blamed for the high prices in Cuba.

The Castro regime's attempt to increase greatly the production of food and manufactured articles has met with no notable success. Despite the Government's optimistic statements, reports from the interior indicate that there has been little increase.

Premier Castro even conceded recently that the program to raise hogs for food and lard had failed, but he assured the people that steps had been taken to reorganize the effort and to produce a quantity of vegetable cooking oils. Meanwhile, millions of pounds of lard are still being imported from the United States. The American embargo against exports to Cuba does not affect food or medicine, but Cuba's lack of dollars holds imports of these to a minimum.

#### U.S. CONTINUES PURCHASES

Nevertheless, the United States is still buying between \$70 million and \$80 million worth of Cuban products a year. These imports are mostly tobacco, fruits and vegetables. The dollars received by Cuba are being used whenever possible to buy products from Western Europe rather than from the United States. For instance, the Cuban Government has just announced that large quantities of medical supplies have been purchased from Switzerland.

Premier Castro has always maintained that his agrarian reform is the basis of his revolution. Under the agrarian reform law, most of the country's land was seized. Big and small rice, sugar and tobacco plantations, cattle ranches, vegetable and fruit farms, and even timber lands were taken over by the Government. The law provided for payment of some indemnity for this property, but the bonds that the law said would constitute the indemnity have not been printed, so far as is known.

Under the law, the landless were to be given 26½ acres each. About 22,000 titles have been distributed. Those receiving the land may never sell or mortgage it and only one child may inherit it. The peasants must grow the crops ordered by the National Agrarian Reform Institute, accept supervision and deliver their crops to the institute at the price fixed.

Premier Castro recently urged at a meeting of small farmers that they form cooperatives, retaining their lands but pooling their machinery, labor, and resources. The farmers would be given Government loans on this basis. It was noted in Havana that this followed the pattern set by Communist China before Peking decided to dispense with all private ownership of land.

#### COOPERATIVES ESTABLISHED

Under the agrarian reform law, the Government established hundreds of cooperatives. Titles of the land were held by the cooperative and its members were to divide the profits. These have failed because of mismanagement and a lack of agricultural experts. There have been no profits. In fact, the Government is said to have suffered huge losses.

The proof of this is that the cooperatives are being converted into state farms. On the state farms, the Government owns the land and employs the workers, who are given houses in which to live and are paid daily wages.

The inducement offered the peasants on state farms, according to Premier Castro, is a plan under which the Government will feed, clothe, and educate all the children of the working peasants. This is fair, Dr. Castro said, because it will place the man with 10 children on the same economic level as the man with 3.

Is the peasant better off than he was under the private enterprise system? Premier Castro assures him constantly that he is.

The peasant is receiving lower wages than he did before the Castro regime came to power and is working longer hours, but he has almost steady employment instead of the few months of labor required by the sugar industry and other agricultural enterprises.

#### EATS SAME FOOD

He eats about the same simple food as before. Rice and beans were his principal foods previously. Now there is rice, but few beans. He may have meat occasionally and on the cooperatives and state farms he has milk for himself and family, which was formerly a luxury.

He also has vegetables, as before, including "malanga," which once the very poor ate when they had nothing else. He chants the revolutionary slogan that says that even if he has to eat malanga he is with Fidel. At the same time, he faces the same shortages as the rest of the inhabitants, such as those of soap and lard.

The peasant's children are being educated and indoctrinated with Socialist ideas and taught loyalty to Fidel, the maximum leader.

But the peasant has changed his viewpoint on life. For the first time he has achieved a sense of self-importance. He eagerly joins the militia, wears his uniform and carries a rifle or machinegun with pride, doing long hours of guard duty with a pleasant sense of authority.

He goes to local meetings or is taken by the government to Havana for big rallies where he cheers the Premier, who tells him that the revolution is only for the long oppressed masses of Cuba. He listens with pleasure to scathing criticism of the former wealthy and property-owning classes as Premier Castro whips up class hatred. And he hears with satisfaction that the land, the factories, in fact the entire island, belongs to the people.

#### URBAN REFORM LAW

Another important step by Premier Castro was the urban reform law, which was to make every man a homeowner. But this is proving somewhat of an illusion, according to many Cubans. At the beginning of the Castro regime rents were reduced 20 to 50 percent. Then, under the reform law, all residences and apartment houses became the property of the occupant.

Later the renter found that he was buying his home from the government and paying the same rent he formerly paid to the private owner. And the government is proving to be extremely hardhearted. If payment is not made by the 15th of the month, there is a small surcharge. If no payment is made, the salary of the purchaser is garnished or his automobile, if he has one, may be attached.

Some of the former renters do not want to buy the houses in which they are living. In fact, there are thousands who have refused to become the owners of their houses or apartments.

For instance, a former tourist chauffeur told this correspondent that his wife had refused to become the owner of their apartment because it needed painting. Since he did not have the money to pay for the painting, the chauffeur went to Urban Reform officials, but they refused to discuss it. Therefore, he said, he was paying his rent as usual but had not filed out the document that would have made him the owner.

In a town in the interior, a man who lived in a shack told a friend:

"I am still living in this old hut, as you see, and paying the Government 15 pesos a month and now they tell me I'm the owner. I don't want it, but I have to pay for it."

Meanwhile, at least until the Government can build thousands of houses, it is almost impossible for anyone to move to a new home. The Urban Reform headquarters in Havana said recently that it had 6,000 houses available and 100,000 applications.



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Thousands of houses were seized from those who fled from the island, but they are being occupied by Government officials and employees, officers of the army, newly established foreign embassies and the many foreign technicians now in Cuba.

## PAYMENTS ARE ORDERED

Just before this correspondent left Havana it was announced that no one could live in a house without paying the Government. Anyone occupying a house he had taken over without Government permission was warned to leave or be subject to a prison sentence.

At the same time, the new home owner finds that if the roof falls in or the faucet leaks it must be repaired at his expense. There is still some confusion as to who is paying the water bill and the city taxes. At present, no one seems to be paying these, but eventually it will be the new owner. This is all added expense above the rent he previously paid. He will receive a title to the property, according to the law, within 5 to 20 years, depending on when the house was built.

The industrial, commercial or transportation worker finds himself with lower wages and longer hours.

He never paid an income tax, but now he pays a 3 percent labor tax, a 4 percent voluntary contribution to the Government industrialization program, 5 percent for social security, his union dues and the long-established maternity tax. As a result, about 15 percent is deducted from his wages monthly.

## LABOR BODY IS WEAK

The once-powerful Confederation of Cuban Workers, which fought for higher wages and other benefits for the workers, is now a mere instrument of the Government.

"The only thing the confederation does now is demand more sacrifices from the workers," one worker grumbled to a close friend. He did not say this in public, since such a remark would be considered counter-revolutionary.

Workers are "ordered," not requested, to attend meetings. Thousands of them have yielded to pressure and joined the militia reluctantly with the other thousands who joined enthusiastically. Some are still resisting, but it is reported to be becoming more and more difficult to hold a job without joining the militia.

The unemployment situation in Cuba is difficult to assess. Premier Castro says he has solved this problem and that there is even a shortage of workers now. It was said at the time Dr. Castro took power that Cuba had 700,000 unemployed. But statistics have never been even reasonably accurate in Cuba.

The greatly publicized shortage of cane cutters for the present sugar crop resulted from several factors. About 500,000 workers and peasants were—and still are—guarding the cities, towns and villages, and manning the artillery, antiaircraft and antitank guns that are deployed at every beach, along highways, in mountains and swamps awaiting the expected invasion of mercenaries of U.S. troops. Moreover, many of the former cane cutters were working on co-operatives or state farms. Finally, the low price paid for cane cutting this year was not an inducement to former workers.

At the same time, thousands of youths from 15 to 20 years old are members of the labor brigades, which carry out volunteer work for the Government in the interior. These youths are given military training, some education, much indoctrination, and experience in some form of work such as clearing land of helping to build houses. They are not paid wages but receive food and uniforms.

Added to these are several thousand volunteer schoolteachers, who have been given military training and indoctrination and

sent into the interior to teach in places where no schools previously existed. They receive a low salary compared with the former scale in Cuba.

The ranks of unemployed in towns and cities have been greatly increased. Purges of workers in industrial and commercial enterprises have left hundreds jobless. These purges have been going on for weeks and those purged are the workers who do not show sufficient enthusiasm for the revolution. Several months ago, about 300 were dismissed in a purge of the Cuban Electric Co. There is little chance to obtain new employment, since the Government is virtually the only employer.

Throughout the island many small businesses have failed, either from lack of merchandise or competition from the Government "stores of the people." The importing and exporting business has been wiped out, because the Government is the sole importer and exporter. Even customs brokers can no longer operate, since the Government pays no import or export duty and Government departments handle clearance of merchandise.

## THOUSANDS LAID OFF

In the reorganization now going on in all administrative departments of the Government, thousands of employees have been put on the "extra" list. The consolidation of newspapers, cigarette and cigar factories, breweries and other industries has placed more workers on the same list. So far, the Government continues to pay the salaries of these workers. However, many of them fear this will not go on very long.

The actual financial position of the Government is known only to the top leaders. Figures obtained, which have no claim to accuracy, indicate that deficits are huge. The National Bank of Cuba statement shows that since the beginning of the Castro regime, when there were about 450 million pesos in circulation, the Government has issued up to 1,500 million pesos.

Maj. Ernesto Guevara, former president of the National Bank of Cuba and now Minister of Industries, told the people in a speech that actually Cuba had no reserves. The Government is apparently living on a hand-to-mouth basis so far as foreign exchange is concerned. Every U.S. dollar received from exports is rationed out to buy commodities that cannot be obtained from the Communist countries with which Cuba has barter contracts.

There is little inflation in Cuba because, although there is little to buy, with the reduction in wages there does not seem to be much money in the hands of the public. Most persons buy only necessities.

The recreational facilities, such as new beaches and resorts built by Premier Castro, are said to be losing heavily. The movie theaters, the dance halls and even the newly established workers' social centers are not filled.

The worker has neither the money nor the time to spend. His extra militia duty after work, the meetings he must attend and the voluntary labor he donates leave little time for recreation.

In Havana, the streets are almost empty by 10 o'clock at night. The famous Tropicana nightclub now has a minimum of \$1.25, but few customers. The youth of the island is marching, drilling, and going to indoctrination meetings, which consume much time.

The Cuban economy still depends on the sugar crop. This year 4 million tons have been sold to the Communist nations at 4 cents a pound. But Cuba must accept products in exchange for this sugar. Some Cuban officials are complaining that the Communist countries are charging too much for their products, this greatly reducing the return on the sugar crop.

## MARKETS SOUGHT FOR SURPLUS

The remainder of this year's crop, which the Government hopes will exceed 6 million tons, must be sold to other countries to get U.S. dollars or British pounds if possible.

The United States, which formerly bought about 3 million tons of sugar a year at a price about 2 cents above the world market price, will buy no sugar from Cuba this year.

Today Premier Castro is making extravagant promises to the Cuban people about the golden economic future of the island.

On the other hand, Major Guevara, who fathered the present 5-year industrial development plan, tells the people bluntly that they will have to work harder, produce more, buy less, and do without many of the things they formerly enjoyed. He once told them they did not need to use "so much soap and deodorant."

Major Guevara concedes that production in the factories, with their American-made equipment, has declined because of a lack of raw materials and spare parts. He speaks encouragingly of the factories that are being sent to Cuba by the Communist countries, but he warns that it will take several years to make Cuba an industrial nation.

Meanwhile, the majority of Cubans are regarding with growing dissatisfaction and anger the sacrifices being demanded, the scarcities of products, and the harsh repressive measures of Premier Castro's Socialist state.

[From the New York Times, June 16, 1961]  
CASTRO GOAL IS TO "LIBERATE" LATIN AMERICA FROM UNITED STATES

(Last of four articles)

(By R. Hart Phillips)

The burning ambition of Fidel Castro has confronted the United States with an embarrassing and dangerous situation in Latin America.

The Cuban Premier is determined to go down in history as a 20th-century Simon Bolivar who "freed Latin America from Yankee imperialism."

The Premier crushed the April 17 invasion by Cuban exiles. In doing so, he tested the fighting ability of his militia and army. He also tightened his government's control over the island's 6,500,000 inhabitants through mass arrests. Further invasions by Cuban exiles seem to be out of the question, and the danger of an internal uprising apparently has been eliminated, at least for the time being. What next for Cuba and her ambitious young Premier? The road would seem to be clearly marked.

On May 1 Premier Castro apparently blazed the way by proclaiming Cuba a "Socialist state" and once more telling his people that the Soviet Union and Communist China were their best friends. Now he is increasing his efforts to attain leadership of the peoples of Latin America and to discredit the United States there.

Hardly had the approximately 1,200 exiles captured during the invasion been lodged in prison when the Premier warned that U.S. Armed Forces would attack Cuba. In talking of what he calls the threat from the United States, he has always described Cuba as a "small, weak, inoffensive country" whose citizens want to live in peace and maintain their sovereignty and independence. At the same time, he has repeatedly boasted about the tremendous quantity of arms that he has received from the Communist countries and has declared that his militia and army are ready to meet any attack by U.S. Marines.

Political and economic aggression by the United States has been defeated, the Premier declares, because of the friendly and disinterested aid from the Communist countries. He tells his people that the capitalist United States will disappear, and holds up

the Socialist way of life as the only hope for world peace and the well-being of the masses everywhere.

Dr. Castro's opportunity to start on his chosen career as liberator of Latin America came in 1959 when he and his guerrilla fighters overthrew the strongly entrenched dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista. This made the revolutionary leader a hero among Latin Americans, who have traditionally resorted to revolts to bring about changes of government.

Only a few days after he had been welcomed into Havana in January 1959, with the largest and most enthusiastic demonstration ever accorded a Cuban hero, Dr. Castro flew to Venezuela. He returned home with the cheers of thousands of Venezuelans ringing in his ears.

Since that time Dr. Castro has spent a lot of energy and millions of dollars the country could ill afford in his attempt to become the leader of all Latin-American peoples. Even at the beginning of his regime most of the Latin-American Governments did not regard Premier Castro with any great enthusiasm. However, the people, especially the students, workers and peasants, quickly hailed him as the leader in a fight against Yankee imperialism.

Today the Cuban revolutionary slogan, "Cuba yes, Yankee no," is heard repeatedly south of the Rio Grande.

Although Premier Castro expresses confidence that he has the full support of the peoples of Latin America, he is apparently not sure about the governments, several of which he terms "oligarchies in the pay of the United States."

He fears that these governments, under United States urging, might decide to break diplomatic relations with Cuba at a future meeting of the Organization of American States.

#### A DIPLOMATIC MISSION

For this reason he sent his top diplomats, Foreign Minister Raul Roa and Dr. Carlos Olivares, Under Secretary of the Foreign Ministry, to confer with officials in key Latin-American countries. Both visited Mexico. Later Dr. Olivares visited Brazil and Ecuador.

The Cuban Government is counting heavily on these countries to prevent a unanimous break of relations with Cuba by members of the Organization of American States. Already the Dominican Republic, Haiti, El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala, Nicaragua, and Peru have broken relations with Cuba, as has the United States.

A unanimous break of diplomatic relations with Cuba by the Latin-American countries would shut off the flow of propaganda about Premier Castro's Socialist revolution into these nations. Cuba has been exporting this propaganda since 1959. Recently, according to reports, the propaganda is being supplemented by the regular Communist literature issued by the Soviet Union. The channels for distribution have been established through Cuban diplomatic missions and through book and magazine stores in the Latin countries.

For many months various Latin-American Governments have been complaining that Cuban diplomatic missions were acting as agents to spread Dr. Castro's propaganda and to stir up dissatisfaction among their people. Several of these countries have asked Cuba to recall diplomatic representatives for this reason.

#### A PRESIDENT LOSES PATIENCE

The President of one small country is reported to have said that he made no objection when the Cuban diplomatic representative in his country talked to university students, established Castro clubs throughout the country and distributed Cuban revolutionary literature. However, the President said he lost his patience when this repre-

sentative began speaking over the radio twice a week and, in effect, promoting a Castro type of revolution.

A break in relations with Cuba by all the Latin countries would stop the exchange of delegations of officials, professional people, students and workers between these nations and Cuba. Such exchanges are a major feature of Dr. Castro's campaign.

Undoubtedly, the Soviet Union and Communist China would not regard the isolation of Cuba with pleasure since she is their first real ideological beachhead in this hemisphere. At the time this correspondent left Havana, it was said that Cuba was to be the largest center of Communist propaganda in the Americas. She will also serve as a center of espionage and headquarters for agitators who will attempt to promote nationalistic revolutions in various Latin American countries, according to the report. The Cuban Government press reported that the regime's national printing shop was going to sign a contract with the Soviet Union to print Moscow's Spanish-language literature for distribution to Spanish-speaking peoples.

Premier Castro has built what is probably the most powerful radio station in Latin America for use in his propaganda campaign. It went into operation May 1. Moreover, he also has the Prensa Latina press agency, which was established almost 2 years ago.

Both the station and the press agency carry to every Latin American country the speeches of the Premier, which are the basis of his propaganda campaign. The principal subjects of the broadcasts and press agency dispatches are speeches by Cuban officials and reports on the activities of the Cuban Government, the benefits granted to the masses through the revolutionary reforms, and the expressed support for the regime of the people of Cuba and other countries.

Other important features of the broadcasts and dispatches are reports designed to lessen the U.S. prestige and items praising the Communist countries.

The Cuban people hold opposing viewpoints on the conflict between the United States and the Cuban Government.

The followers of Premier Castro applaud his attacks on the United States and his ridicule of American Government officials. They believe the Premier has defeated every "aggression" by the United States and declare that they are ready to fight the U.S. Marines any day they land. They are convinced that the Soviet Union will retaliate with rockets if the United States attacks Cuba.

Enemies of the Castro regime still hope for some help from the United States to destroy the Socialist state, but many are becoming disillusioned. They believe "direct action" is the only way in which Premier Castro could be deposed. They think Dr. Castro's fighting forces are poorly trained and would not be willing to engage in an all-out fight with American troops. They express the opinion that the Soviet Union would not start World War III over the small island of Cuba.

These Cubans see little hope that Cuba will be isolated by the rest of Latin America. They feel that many Latin-American countries will not be willing to follow this course because they have serious problems with Communist and leftist groups at home and are vulnerable to military coups or revolutions of the Castro type.

Whether the cutting off of all U.S. imports from and exports to Cuba would effectively shake the Castro regime is widely discussed in Cuba.

Some believe it would have considerable effect since the Communist countries have so far failed to provide any sizable amount of food and other consumer goods to Cuba. The United States still exports food and medicine to Cuba and imports tobacco, fruit, and some other products. A total embargo would certainly create greater dissatisfac-

tion in Cuba, even among the peasants, who so fervently support Premier Castro.

Others feel such an embargo would be ineffective, because the Government would be able to buy at least the type of food to which the peasants are accustomed.

If Washington takes no action against the Castro regime, both the Premier's friends and his enemies think he will increase his propaganda efforts against the United States. They also believe that with the help of the Communist countries he will succeed in making himself the leader of a "Latin American bloc" hostile to the United States.

The personality of Premier Castro, which to all appearances has a mesmeric effect on many Cubans, is the rock on which the Cuban Government rests. This is the opinion expressed loudly by his friends and by some of his enemies.

Some Cubans predict that should the Premier disappear from the scene, neither of his chief aides, Maj. Ernesto Guevara, Minister of Industries, and Maj. Raul Castro, Armed Forces Minister, who is the younger brother of the Premier, would be able to hold the loyalty of the people. These observers feel that any attempt at forcible rule by either or both of these officials would result in bitter fighting that would involve even the Premier's present supporters.

"The individualistic Cuban people have been led down the road into communism by the personality of one man, Fidel Castro, who may yet achieve his ambition to win the support of the whole of Latin America and create active enemies at the U.S. back door," one thoughtful Cuban said.

#### OBJECTIVE OF FREEDOM RIDES TO INCITE VIOLENCE IN THE SOUTH

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, there has come to my attention a very interesting article published in the Augusta Chronicle, of Augusta, Ga., which consists of the reproduction of an article written by Mr. Alexander F. Jones, the executive editor of the Herald-American, published at Syracuse, N.Y., which says that the sole objective of freedom rides is to incite violence in the South.

Mr. President, I ask that the article, which is one of the very few which has appeared in publications outside the South which depicts any understanding whatever of the southern viewpoint, may be printed in the body of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEW YORK EDITOR SAYS SOLE OBJECTIVE OF FREEDOM RIDES IS TO INCITE VIOLENCE IN THE SOUTH

(By Alexander F. Jones)

The propaganda strength of the freedom riders idea is that it is proceeding on a one-way street.

The sole objective of the plan is to incite violence by presenting a spectacle of mixing races, and particularly racial sexes, in a region where it was certain to be the equivalent of waving a red flag at a bull.

(Editor's Note: The points made in this column have been made in Chronicle editorials on the freedom ride incidents. We consider it worthwhile to reproduce the column here, however, because the opinions are expressed by an editor from outside the South. We believe his comments reflect the same objective approach the Chronicle attempted to take in appraising the Alabama and Mississippi bus incidents.)